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THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH LITERATURE ON
FRIEDRICH VON HAGEDORN

III

The similarity between Hagedorn's attitude toward flattery in court life and Prior's is also striking. Compare the following from *Solomon*¹ with a quotation from *Freundschaft*:²

"What is a king?

.
From the first blooming of his ill taught youth,
Nourished in flattery, and estranged from truth:
At home surrounded by a servile crowd,
Prompt to abuse, and in detraction loud.

Hat ihn der Himmel nicht mit seltner Kraft versehn,
So wird er nur zu schwach Versuchern widerstehn.
Der Hoheit Selbstbetrug vereitelt seine Güte,
Der Schmeichler Hinterhalt umzingelt sein Gemüthe.

The futility of the ravages caused by war is another subject which claimed the attention of both Hagedorn and Prior, and Thomson as well, as can be seen by comparing Hagedorn's stanza beginning, "Als aber Stolz und Neid den frechen Schwung erhuh,"³ with *Solomon* (Book III, ll. 303-8) and the *Castle of Indolence* (stanza LV).⁴

Although Hagedorn longed to see poets independent of the favor of princes, still he had long looked forward to the time when the rulers in Germany should foster German art. Along with other German poets, he was disappointed when Frederick the Great preferred Voltaire to the writers of his own country. In the poem, *Der Weise*, he cites the example of the English people in appreciating their own scholars:

Gunst krönt den Fleiss, den Macht und Freyheit schützen:
Die Reichsten sind der Wissenschaften Stützen.⁵

¹ Book III, ll. 275-82.

² *Werke*, I, 65.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 69.

⁴ See also Thomson's *Britannia* (II, 56-61).

⁵ *Werke*, I, 16.

He could have joined Parnell in his toast in *The Book-Worm*:

A health to poets all their days,
May they have bread as well as praise.¹

Later in *Wünsche*,² Hagedorn proclaims his allegiance to the cause of freedom with even more spirit than in *Der Weise*:

Du schönstes Himmelskind! du Ursprung bester Gaben,
Die weder Gold erkaufte, noch Herrengunst gewährt,
O Freyheit! kann ich nur dich zur Gefährtin haben,
Gewiss, so wird kein Hof mit meinem Flehn beschwert.

In this poem Hagedorn's scorn of the favor of princes has become bolder than it was in *Der Weise*. He sees that the realization of happiness and virtue can come only through freedom, that no man can attain a high development so long as he fawns upon his rulers. The same spirit is expressed by Thomson in his *Autumn* (ll. 1239-49), in a passage already quoted.³

And again in *Wünsche*.⁴

Die Wollust darf ihn nicht aus Bergkrystallen tränken,
Die Schmeichler kriechen nicht um seinen Speisesaal:
Doch Freyheit kann der Kost Kraft und Gedeihen schenken,
Und die fehlt Fürsten oft bey ihren Göttermahl.

It does not suffice merely to be independent as far as outside forces are concerned. This independence must be in the nature of an inner freedom. Only when a man can look himself squarely in the face is he able to regard himself on an equality with princes:

Wer diess von Weisen lernt, sein eigner Freund zu werden,
Mit der Versuchung nicht sich heimlich zu verstehn;
Der ist (ihr Grossen, glaubts) ein grosser Mann auf Erden,
Und darf Monarchen selbst frey unter Augen gehn.⁵

In a study of Hagedorn's *Moralische Gedichte*, it is impossible not to observe his growing love of freedom and his increasing boldness in expressing it. Emphasizing in *Der Weise* the beauty of freedom, citing England as its home,⁶ and warning his readers

¹ That Hagedorn knew Parnell is shown by a letter from Bodmer referring to him (*Werke*, V, 193).

² *Werke*, I, 39.

³ *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, p. 185.

⁴ *Werke*, I, 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 39.

⁶ *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, p. 190.

against the treachery of flattery, he continues to cherish this love of liberty until it becomes a passion with him. In his *Schreiben an einen Freund* he scorns rulers who obtain respect from their subjects only through the fear which they inspire:

Wie dürftig prangt ein Herr, den nur sein Thron erhebt,
Dem jeder nur gehorcht, weil jeder vor ihm bebt!¹

He goes so far as to prophesy that a time will come when such tyrants will no longer be tolerated:

Der Ehre Heiligthum wird er nicht lang' entweihn.
Verehrt ihm seine Zeit, so denkt die Nachwelt kühner.²

He suggests, too, that the power of a ruler is often under the control of others without his realizing it:

Vielleicht regieren ihn Gemahl und Kammerdiener,
Und, lenken diese nicht den königlichen Sinn,
So kanns ein Sporus thun, und eine Buhlerin.³

Hagedorn states in this poem that friendship and flattery are absolutely incompatible:

Die Nacht der Schmeicheley, die Fürsten stets umgiebt,
Erlaubt dem Besten kaum zu wissen, wer ihn liebt.
Und, kann die Gleichheit nur den Bau der Freundschaft gründen,
Wie wird er einen Freund, statt eines Heuchlers, finden?⁴

These lines should be read in connection with Thomson's *Autumn* (ll. 1235-42), in which the happiness of friendship is contrasted with the "vile intercourse of flatterers." Hagedorn continues in the spirit of many of Thomson's utterances when he writes:

Kennt ein Tyrann auch Freunde?
Bringt nicht, zur Sicherheit auf dem erstiegenen Thron,
Ein Sohn den Vater um, der Vater einen Sohn?⁵

Hagedorn's final summing-up of the poem is a mature expression of his English ideals:

¹ *Werke*, I, 46. This certainly has the vigor of Thomson's utterances on tyranny. Cf. especially *Summer*, ll. 1477-78:

The dread of tyrants, and the sole resource
Of those that under grim oppression groan.

² *Ibid.*, I, 46.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 46.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 49.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 53.

Nur der is wirklich gross, und seiner Zeiten Zierde,
 Den kein Bewundern täuscht, noch lockende Begierde,
 Den Kenntniss glücklich macht, und nicht zu schulgelehrt,
 Der zwar Beweise schätzt, doch auch den Zweifel ehrt,
 Vollkommenheit besitzt, die er nicht selbst bekennet,
 Nur edle Triebe fühlt, und Allen Alles gönnet,
 Der das ist, was er scheint, und nur den Beyfall liebt,
 Den seinen Tugenden Recht und Gewissen giebt.¹

The significant thing for us in this poem is that Hagedorn in his conception of freedom shows a closer relation to Pope in his *Essay on Man*, to Prior in his *Solomon*, and to Thomson in his *Liberty and Seasons*, especially *Autumn* and *Winter*, than he did in his earlier poems.

FRIENDSHIP

In Hagedorn's philosophy the crowning glory of virtue is friendship. To it he devoted the longest and, in some respects, the best of his *Moralische Gedichte, Die Freundschaft*. In this poem he first does homage to the dog of Ulysses, which remained true to its master during his long absence and on his return paid more respect to him whom it thought a beggar, than did the servants whom he had exalted; then on being stroked by the stranger, looked up, recognized him, and died.

Hagedorn bemoans the lack of true friendship in his own time, crowded out as it is by selfishness, inconstancy, indifference, servility, deception, laziness, and avarice. This leads up to an exposition of what real friendship means. He has little hope that princes will attain it, for, even after reading the history of former rulers, they will themselves become the victims of flattery unless they are strong. Friendship thrives best in the rural atmosphere, not in cities or at courts, for in the country freedom and peace reign. Friendship is the outgrowth of confidence and truth, not of jealousy and deception. It is most easily killed by coolness and infidelity. It exists among people of like virtues and often among those of congenial tastes. It cannot exist with selfishness, flattery, and hypocrisy. The real test of friendship is fidelity.²

¹ *Werke*, I, 55.

² In a footnote Hagedorn gives as his sources for the story of Ulysses' dog, *Odyssey*, Book xvii, Pope's note to line 399, his tenth letter to Cromwell, and Boileau's third critical treatise on some passages of Longinus in the third book of his works.

Addison's essay on *Friendship*¹ emphasizes the same characteristics as Hagedorn's *Freundschaft*.² Thus he writes: "Among the several qualifications of a good friend, this wise man (the son of Sirach)³ has very justly singled out constancy and faithfulness as the principal."

According to this, the ideals of Hagedorn and Addison with regard to friendship are fundamentally the same. I have already quoted from No. 15 of the *Spectator*,⁴ in which Addison represents happiness as an "enemy to pomp and noise," enjoying the friendship and conversation of a few, select companions, and loving "shade and solitude, . . . groves and fountains, fields and meadows." In *Freundschaft*⁵ Hagedorn affirms, as does Addison, that true friendship, a prerequisite of happiness, is to be found only in retirement from the pomp of the world:

O Land! der Tugend Sitz, wo zwischen Trift und Auen
 Uns weder Stolz noch Neid der Sonne Licht verbauen,
 Und Freude Raum erblickt; wo Ehrgeiz und Betrug
 Sich nicht dem Strohdach naht, noch Gift dem irdnen Krug;
 Wo Anmuth Witz gebiert, und Witz ein sichres Scherzen,
 Weil niemand sinnreich wird, um seinen Freund zu schwärzen;
 Wo man nie wissentlich Verheissungen vergisst,
 Und Redlichkeit ein Ruhm, und Treu ein Erbgut ist,
 Wie in Arcadien. Erkauft das Gold der Reichen
 Sich Freunde solcher Art, die rechten Hirten gleichen?

Hagedorn also expresses⁶ what Addison infers in *Spectator*, No. 15, viz., that real friendship is not to be found in courts and crowds of people:

Der Sitz geheimer Noth und öffentlicher Pracht,
 Der Hof ist nicht der Ort, der Freundschaft herzlich macht.

Thomson shows in *Autumn* (ll. 1237 ff.) his highest conception of happiness, like Hagedorn's, to be a life in retirement with a few friends. Again, in *Winter* (ll. 572-73) he expresses the same spirit:

¹ *Spectator*, No. 68.

² Although this essay is composed almost entirely of quotations from *The Wisdom of the Son of Sirach*, yet Addison gives the views contained in it the stamp of his own approval.

³ The parenthesis is my own.

⁵ *Werke*, I, 67.

⁴ *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, p. 188.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 65.

Thus in some deep retirement would I pass
The winter glooms, with friends of pliant soul.¹

One person who, in Hagedorn's judgment, is debarred from real friendship is the gossip.² His poem, *Der Schwätzer*, calls to mind a long series of articles in both the English and German moral weeklies on the subject. It was one of their favorite themes.

Hagedorn, like Addison and Steele, kept in close touch with the common people and had every opportunity to know their weaknesses. Like them, he spent much time in coffee-houses, where he could hear the conversation of all classes of people. In this poem Hagedorn represents himself as taking a walk and meeting a gossip, who became the subject of his satire. His antipathy for the class of people whom this man represents is well put:

Ich eil', ich stehe still, von ihm mich zu befreyn,
Und raun' ich weiss nicht was dem Diener in die Ohren;
Noch hier ist alle Müh und alle Kunst verlohren.
Mir bricht der Angstschweiss aus. O wie beneidenswerth,
Gedenk ich, ist der Thor, der Thoren gerne hört!³

In this connection it is significant to recall that Addison in the *Spectator* discusses the conversation of his correspondents.⁴ In

¹ See also *Winter* (ll. 343-44):

E'en in the vale, where wisdom loves to dwell,
With friendship, peace, and contemplation joined.

² The aversion of Hagedorn to gossips was mentioned after his death by his friend Klopstock (Ed. Muncker und Pawel, I, 26):

So schliefst du sicher von den Schwätzern
Nicht ohne Götter ein muthger Jüngling.

Hagedorn refers to it himself in the third stanza of his *Wünsche* in which he speaks of the pleasure which his favorite books afford him when he can retire with them to a place where gossips cannot intrude (*Werke*, I, 38):

O wie vergnügen mich, wo die kein Schwätzer störet,
Die Werke, deren Ruhm die Meister überlebt.

³ *Werke*, I, 85.

⁴ *Spectator*, No. 67, is devoted to the "party rage" of women, which has crept into their conversation. Addison decries anything in their speech which may detract from "the softness, the modesty, and those endearing qualities which are natural to the fair sex."

In No. 16, referring to requests from correspondents to print the private scandal connected with the names of particular persons and families, Addison replies that it is not his design "to be a publisher of intrigues and cuckoldoms, or to bring little infamous stories out of their present lurking holes into broad daylight."

The familiar quotation on slander from Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, Canto III, ll. 11-16, should be recalled here:

In various talk th' instructive hours they past,
Who gave the ball, or paid the visit last;
One speaks the glory of the British Queen,
And one describes a charming Indian screen;
A third interprets motives, looks, and eyes;
At ev'ry word a reputation dies.

No. 46 he prints a letter from a man who complains that his wife is a "gospel-gossip": "If at any time I have her company alone, she is a mere sermon pop-gun, repeating and discharging texts, proofs, and applications so perpetually that however weary I may go to bed, the noise in my head will not let me sleep until morning."

No less persistent is Hagedorn's gossip. After trying in vain to get rid of him,¹ Hagedorn says dejectedly:

Mich krümm' ich, wie ein Pferd, das, bey zu schwerer Last,
Kopf, Maul und Ohren bäugt, und seinen Treiber hasst.²

On turning again to *Freundschaft*, we find that Hagedorn got from Pope more than the suggestion for the opening of the poem. In the Second Epistle of the *Essay on Man*, Pope begins with self-love, "the spring of motion":

Two Principles in human nature reign;
Self-love, to urge, and Reason, to restrain.³

and proceeds from that to friendship, a tie which has grown out of mutual need:

Heav'n forming each on other to depend,
A master, or a servant, or a friend,
Bids each on other for assistance call,
Till one Man's weakness grows the strength of all,
Wants, frailties, passions, closer still ally
The common int'rest, or endear the tie.
To these we owe true friendship, love sincere,
Each home-felt joy that life inherits here.⁴

Hagedorn follows the same course:

Die Liebe zu uns selbst, allein die weise nur,
Ist freylich unsre Pflicht, die Stimme der Natur;
Doch sie verknüpft sich auch mit den Bewegungsgründen,
In andern wie in uns, das Gute schön zu finden,
Dem Schönen hold zu seyn.⁵

The self-restraint urged by Pope throughout this epistle is stressed by Hagedorn also:

¹ In the chatter of this gossip is a passing reference to the English people (*Werke*, I, 86): "Im Gehen, glauben Sies, bin ich ein rechter Britte."

² *Werke*, I, 87.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ll. 249-56.

³ *Essay on Man*, Ep. II, ll. 53-54.

⁵ *Werke*, I, 62 ff.

Wie ruhig ist ein Herz, das seine Pflichten kennt!
 Das jede seine Lust, wie seine Richtschnur, nennt!
 Von ihm, und nur von ihm, wird Freundschaft recht geschätzt,
 Die wahrer Dichtkunst gleich, so bessert, als ergetzet.¹

Reference has already been made to Hagedorn's warm friendships for contemporary authors,² but sufficient emphasis has not been put upon the fact that in this feature also Hagedorn was an innovator. Schuster states³ that in Hagedorn's time there was scarcely a trace of a *Freundschaftscultus* in Germany:

Von Freundeskreisen und freundlichem Leben wird aber mit einer einzigen Ausnahme in den deutschen moralischen Wochenschriften damals nirgends gesprochen. Dieselbe findet sich in den *Diskursen der Maler*, wo man II. Th. IV. D. auf die Freundschaft, wie sie Cicero behandelt hat, wieder aufmerksam macht; sonst trifft man in den Wochenschriften nicht eine einzige besondere Abhandlung über das Wesen und den Begriff der Freundschaft, welcher Mangel wohl den sichersten Beweis giebt, dass damals in Deutschland kaum eine Spur von einem Freundschaftscultus vorhanden gewesen sein kann.

There is no doubt that Schuster⁴ is correct in asserting further that Hagedorn's stay in England and his familiarity with English life and literature had much to do with his development of the *Freundschaftscultus* in Germany. This was fostered by the younger German writers who got much of their inspiration from him, especially the groups of poets in Leipzig and Halle.⁵

LOVE OF COUNTRY LIFE

With Hagedorn, the farmer is not only a useful member of society, but as a result of his environment a happy one as well. In this respect he agrees with Thomson in dividing society into two classes. In one are the quiet dwellers of the country, who enjoy a reasonable competence and are consequently happy, contented, and independent

¹ *Ibid.*, I, 69.

³ Schuster, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

² *Modern Philology*, XII, 5, p. 124.

⁴ Schuster, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁵ Hagedorn's friendship for the younger writers was not a matter of mere sentiment. It expressed itself in such assistance as suggestions, lending of books, and, when necessary, financial aid. His assistance to the "Bauersohn," Gottlieb Fuchs, might be mentioned in this connection. He interested his Hamburg friends also in the blind poet Enderlein, and raised the sum of 200 thaler, which was given to Enderlein in such a way that he did not know from whom it came. Rabener called Hagedorn "ein liebevoller Vormund der witzigen und nothleidenden Köpfe in Sachsen" (*Literarische Pamphleten*, by Bodmer, p. 130).

in spirit; in the other are those who live in cities and strive in vain for happiness through the attainment of wealth and influence. The following lines from *Glückseligkeit* express Hagedorn's attitude in general toward the countryman:

O Glück der Niedrigen, der Schnitter und der Hirten,
Die sich in Flur und Wald, in Trift und Thal bewirthen,
Wo Einfalt und Natur, die ihre Sitten lenkt,
Auch jeder rauhen Kost Geschmack und Segen schenkt!¹

Without suggesting that Hagedorn was directly influenced by the following poem from Thomson,² I quote it as illustrating the kinship of ideas between the two poets:

If those who live in shepherd's bower,
Press not the rich and stately bed:
The new mown hay and breathing flower
A softer couch beneath them spread.

If those who sit at shepherd's board,
Soothe not their taste by wanton art;
They take what nature's gifts afford,
And take it with a cheerful heart.

If those who drain the shepherd's bowl,
No high and sparkling wines can boast,
With wholesome cups they cheer the soul,
And crown them with the village toast.

If those who join in shepherd's sport,
Gay dancing on the daisied ground,
Have not the splendour of a court;
Yet love adorns the merry round.

It is important to bear in mind in connection with what has just been said, that in Hagedorn's time a revolution in German thought was marked by a return to nature, which he united with Brockes in advocating. In Hagedorn's striving for simplicity, his break with conventions, preceding as it did the introduction of Rousseau into Germany by a good many years, helped to do for Germany what Thomson did for England.

¹ *Werke*, I, 31.

² "Contentment," from *Alfred*, Act III, sc. v.

Again although Hagedorn's beauty of language and perfection of style have frequently been commented on, and that usually in connection with his imitation of classic writers, comparatively little has ever been said about Hagedorn as an innovator, who helped to introduce into Germany the directness of description characteristic of English Romanticists. The Germans have not thought of him as we think today of Thomson, but his poetry, as does Thomson's, belongs to a transition period. When we think of Thomson as the forerunner of Wordsworth, not only in his treatment of nature, but also in his simplicity of style, we do not forget that his dramas and a large part of his poetry are conventional in style,¹ but we do not on this account overlook the romantic elements in his *Seasons*. Neither should we let the formality of Hagedorn's style blind us to the valuable work which he did in introducing a new type of literature into Germany, nor should we overlook the part which Thomson very probably played in influencing him.

Special attention should be given to Hagedorn's *Horaz*, since it is very closely related in spirit to Thomson's *Spring*. The opening stanza² suggests the enjoyment of nature which one familiar with Thomson's poem will recall as decidedly characteristic of him.³ The similarity in the handling of the theme is also significant. The cheerful spirit, characteristic of both Hagedorn's and Thomson's poems, was, as has been said before,⁴ almost entirely lacking in the German poetry immediately preceding Hagedorn. "Das Recht vergnügt zu seyn" was an important element in his belief, as well as in that of Thomson and Addison. This was the feature in his work which Hagedorn's followers among the Anacreontic poets developed, as will be shown in a later study of Hagedorn's *Lieder*. In this last of his *Moralische Gedichte*, *Horaz*, more than in any of the earlier ones, Hagedorn emphasizes this spirit of cheerfulness, another evidence that his point of view was consistently becoming that of contemporary English rather than German writers.

¹ Many of the stilted expressions of pseudo-Classicism still clung to Thomson; for example: "musky tribes," "finny race," "glossy kind," "busy nations."

² *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, p. 183.

Cf. Thomson's *Spring*, ll. 1-4; 186-221.

⁴ *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, pp. 188 f.

In this poem nature plays a more important part than in any of the previous poems of this group. Only a person who has learned to see nature first hand could write such lines as the following:

Du sahest oft an hoffnungsvollen Bäumen,
Um Rind' und Stamm, das Moos zu häufig keimen.¹

Such a minute observance of details in nature is consonant with the development toward Romanticism in England during the eighteenth century. Thomson's importance in making nature more than a mere ornament to poetry is too well known to need more than passing mention here. That Hagedorn was a pioneer in Germany, as Thomson was in England, in a sympathetic observation of nature is what concerns us.

As with Thomson, so with Hagedorn, the quiet life of the country answers a real need in its restfulness to the weary city dweller:

Wann seh ich dich, in Stunden freyer Ruh,
Beym Schlaf am Bach, aus Büchern kluger Alten,
Vergessenheit der Mühe zu erhalten,
Der öftern Last, die in der Stadt mich drückt,
Und meine Lust in enger Luft erstickt?
Wann werd' ich mich in jenen kühlen Gründen,
An jenem Quell, verneuert, wieder finden?²

The similarity of Hagedorn's point of view and Thomson's on this subject may be seen by comparing the above with a passage from Thomson's poem, *Of a Country Life* (ll. 90 f.):

When the noon sun directly darts his beams
Upon your giddy heads, with fiery gleams,
Then you may bathe yourself in cooling streams;
Or to the sweet adjoining grove retire,
Where trees with interwoven boughs conspire
To form a grateful shade.

.
There you may stretch yourself upon the grass,
And, lulled with music, to kind slumbers pass:
No meagre cares your fancy will distract,
And on that scene no tragic fears will act.

.
But grant, ye powers, that it may be my lot
To live in peace from noisy towns remote.

¹ *Werke*, I, 99.

² *Werke*, I, 99.

Hagedorn, as well as Thomson, likes to turn from a description of the artificial pleasures of the city to the innocent ones of the country. Thomson's *Autumn* (ll. 1246-77), in which he expresses his aversion to the restlessness and deception of the city, and his love of the quiet and sincerity of the country, is typical of many such passages in the *Seasons*.¹ In general, the same features are observable in Hagedorn's earlier moral poetry, but not until this poem does he mention with such "Thomson-like" concreteness² the country life as in the following lines:

Der Schafe Schur, der Vogelfang, die Jagd,
Die Taubenzucht, die Wartung seiner Bienen,
Das frische Bad, der stille Schlaf im Grünen.
.
Sein Vieh, sein Land, sein Garten giebt Gerichte,
Die Milch, den Fisch, den Braten und die Früchte,
Sein Weinberg Wein, den kein Verkäufer mischt.³

In connection with the same passage from *Autumn*, cited above, it should be noted in passing that Hagedorn's conception of domestic happiness also is found to be one where a simple meal with one's friends plays an important part:

An Kriegsgeräth besitzt er nur ein Zelt,
In welchem er mit Freunden Tafel hält.⁴

But the activity which belongs to a life in the country is essential to this enjoyment:

Dort schmeckt dir Brod, wie sonst kein Kuchen that,
Denn alles schmeckt, wo man Bewegung hat.⁵

¹ Cf. *The Castle of Indolence*, stanzas XLIX-LVIII.

² Cf. Myra Reynolds, *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry between Pope and Wordsworth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909), for a careful treatment of Thomson's descriptive poetry.

³ *Werke*, I, 104.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 104.

⁵ *Werke*, I, 105. Hagedorn's lines on fishing (*Werke*, I, 104) may have been suggested by Thomson's description of fishing in *Spring* (ll. 379-442) and the one in his poem *Of a Country Life* (ll. 53-66):

Und was er sonst bald mit beglückten Händen
Zu angeln pflegt, bald in der Netze Wänden
Gefangen führt, bald, wie den fetten Aal,
In Reusen lockt zum frohen Mittagsmahl.

I add here four lines in which his concreteness is especially marked (*ibid.*, I, 104):

Im Teich, im Strom, wo Schley und Karpe springen,
Forell' und Schmerl durch Sand und Kiesel dringen,
Der Frösche Feind, der Krebs, geharnischt laicht,
Und, ganz vertieft, die bärtge Barbe streicht.

Though such passages as the above are a distinct echo of Horace,¹ the admiration for whom formed a bond of sympathy between Hagedorn and Thomson, the following evidence especially is strongly in favor of our regarding Hagedorn as having been influenced by Thomson in his treatment of nature. In the first place, the evidence advanced in the preceding pages indicates a close relationship between Thomson and Hagedorn in other significant characteristics. Then, in addition, Thomson had become well known in literary circles of Germany by the time *Horaz* was written. Not only had Brockes' translation of the *Seasons* been published seven years before, but imitations of it, as well, had begun to appear.² In view of this fact, and of the similarity between the two poets, it is logical to assume that Hagedorn, probably the widest reader of English literature in Germany at that time, was influenced, as well as his contemporaries, by Thomson's attitude toward nature.

References to domestic activities form an important feature in the German imitations of the *Seasons*, especially Kleist's *Frühling*, Zacharia's *Tageszeiten*, and Gessner's *Idyllen*. It will be recalled that previous to the time of Thomson any mention of commonplace themes in the poetry of England and Germany was considered in bad taste. It is significant that Hagedorn was one of the first German poets to refer in a natural way to everyday pursuits.

In connection with Thomson's influence upon the eighteenth-century poets of Germany, I believe that it was not as great upon Brockes and Haller as has generally been supposed. Brockes had been writing at least sixteen years before Thomson's *Spring* first appeared in English, and he had already formed his style, which was microscopic in contrast with the panoramic treatment characteristic of Thomson's style. Brockes and Haller both describe nature with scientific accuracy, but fail to animate it as Thomson does. In this respect Hagedorn is much closer to Thomson than is either Brockes or Haller. It is admitted that Hagedorn in his poems written before going to England followed Brockes in his microscopic

¹ Cf. especially *Epodes of Horace*, Ode 11.

² Kleist's *Frühling*, the best of the imitations of Thomson's *Spring*, had appeared two years earlier than Hagedorn's *Horaz*.

manner,¹ but like Kleist and Wieland, who were also influenced by Brockes in their early writing, he later abandoned this style and learned to use the broad effects characteristic of Thomson. Unlike Zachariä, and other imitators of Thomson, Hagedorn always stays within the bounds of good taste in his choice and treatment of subjects. Like Thomson he made everything poetic which he described. Further, Hagedorn is more closely related to Thomson in another characteristic than are Brockes and Haller: the work of both of these latter writers is characterized by a somber tone which is lacking in the poetry of Thomson and Hagedorn. The idyllic element which Haller, Wieland, and Gessner had learned from Thomson is found also in Hagedorn's *Horaz*. When we compare Hagedorn with his German contemporaries with regard to Thomson's influence upon their attitude toward nature, it appears certain that he was under the spell of the English poet, and that he was probably influenced more than were Brockes and Haller, and earlier than were Kleist, Wieland, Zachariä, or Gessner.²

In summing up the qualities which Hagedorn stresses, not only in this poem, but in all his *Moralische Gedichte* as well, I cannot do better than use a passage in Thomson's *Spring* (ll. 1161-64):

An elegant sufficiency, content,
Retirement, moral quiet, friendship, books,
Ease and alternate labour, useful life,
Progressive virtue, and approving heaven!

SUMMARY

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to show the development of the influence of English literature upon the thought and form of Hagedorn's didactic poems. In considering this influence upon his thought, special attention has been paid to his interest in the philosophy of the English Deists, since he was the first to do in Germany what Pope had done in England, viz., to popularize deistic philosophy. In tracing the development of Hagedorn's conceptions of virtue, wisdom, freedom, friendship, philanthropy, and

¹ It will be recalled that Hagedorn in his later years wrote a parody on this detailed form of description employed by Brockes.

² As a matter of pure speculation, I offer the suggestion that Hagedorn may have helped Kleist, Wieland, Zachariä, and Gessner to know Thomson.

kindred subjects which constantly recur throughout his moral poems, attention has been called to the gradual change in Hagedorn's expressions concerning these themes; and especially as he departed from the prevalent views of his German contemporaries and approached those of his English models, chief among whom were Pope, Prior, and most probably Thomson and Addison. In his treatment of nature Thomson has been cited as the probable inspiration of Hagedorn in his marked advance in simplicity and directness over most of his contemporaries. The spirit of cheerfulness pervading his poetry, which had a marked influence upon the Anacreontic poetry of Germany, has been shown to be mainly an outgrowth of his ideas of virtue, freedom, and friendship, all of which bear the stamp of English influence.

In observing the influence of English literature upon Hagedorn's form, great importance has been attached to his introduction of the *Moralisches Gedicht* into German literature. Since this form, which he learned to use from Pope, afterward gained great popularity in Germany, this is a matter of considerable significance. Hagedorn's innovation is no less important in the use of the iambic pentameter with the heroic couplet at the end of each stanza, as in *Der Gelehrte* and *Der Weise*, and in the employment of the five-foot couplet exclusively in the last of these poems, *Horaz*; and this innovation has been cited as clearly of English origin. The concise, epigrammatic quality of Hagedorn's style, another innovation in German literature, has been pointed out as a contribution to him from Pope.

Although Hagedorn followed classic ideals, as did his English contemporaries, his similarity to the latter in his manner of expressing those ideals is too close to be regarded as merely accidental. Again, it may be contended that since Hagedorn was influenced in these poems by the classics, especially Horace, he would have written as he did even if he had never known English literature. But this is mere speculation, and is contrary to positive evidence. The evidence shows that although he expressed many of the same ideas found in the classics, his treatment of them resembles that of his English contemporaries more closely than it does that of the classics.¹

¹ Hagedorn in his development combines an approach to the conciseness of form and compactness of meter characteristic of Pope, with the tendency toward Romanticism for which Thomson stands.

Furthermore, his lifelong interest in English books and moral weeklies, his association with literary men who also were students of English literature, and the impressions made upon him during his stay in London form evidence which approaches conclusiveness in a final consideration of our argument. Hagedorn's breadth of knowledge of English life and literature was so great that it must have exerted an influence upon what he wrote, especially since he was avowedly a free imitator.¹ Moreover, it is of special importance to note that his writings bear practically no stamp of English influence until after he has been in England.

Finally, the English influences upon the thought and form of Hagedorn's moral writings are important, not only on account of the effect which they had upon him, but also because of that which they exerted through him upon his successors in Germany.

APPENDIX

HAGEDORN'S REFERENCES TO ENGLISH LITERATURE²

- Addison. I, v.³ Cites *Spectator*, No. 512, as one of the sources of *Der Sultan u. sein Bezier Azem*.
 III, ix, footnote 15. Quotes Addison's lines on Waller.
 III, x, footnote 17. Reference to *Guardian*, No. 67.
 III, xi, footnote 19. Quotes from *Spectator*, No. 85.
 III, xi, footnote 20. Reference to *Spectator*, Nos. 70 and 74.
 III, xx, footnote 29. Quotes from his *Discourse on Ancient Learning*, p. 6.
 III, xxix. Reference to his odes.
 III, 100, footnote. Reference to his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, p. 212 ff.
 V, 102. Reference to *Spectator*—never tires of it.
 Akenside. V, 188. Bodmer's criticism of Akenside's *Art of Preserving Health*.
 V, 204. Bodmer thanks Hagedorn for the *Pleasures of Imagination*.

¹ *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, pp. 179 f.

² There are, without doubt, other English references in Hagedorn's unpublished letters, to which I have not had access.

³ The references are to Hagedorn's *Werke* (Hamburg, 1800), unless otherwise indicated.

- Beaumont, Francis. IV, 123, footnote. Quotes from *In the Praise of Sack*, from *A Select Collection of English Songs*, II, 28, source of *Mischmasch*.
- Behn, Aphra. III, ix. Reference to her as song writer.
- Blackwells. III, xxii, footnote 30. Reference to *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, pp. 80-103, 196.
- Blainville. II, 20, footnote 3. Reference to *Travels through Holland, Germany*, etc., I, 263, 264.
- Broome. V, 193. Bodmer refers to him as son of Homer.
- Brucker. I, 25, footnote 12. Reference to *Histor. Critic. Philosophiae*, I, 557.
 I, 48, footnote 27. *Ibid.*, I, 655-56.
 I, 71, footnote 22. *Ibid.*, I, 1315.
 I, 125, footnote 3. *Ibid.*, I, 871.
 III, 113, footnote 1. *Ibid.*, II.
 III, 114, footnote 2. *Ibid.*, I, 1242-48.
- Buckingham. I, 120. Quotation from him used at head of *Witz und Tugend*.
 III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
 III, xiii, footnote 24. Quotation from him.
- Chaucer. V, 142. Reference to his fables.
- Cibber. V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.
- Cobb. I, 138. Reference to one of his epigrams as a source of *Susanna*.
- Congreve. III, xxix. Reference to his odes.
- Cowley. III, xvii. Reference to him.
- Croxal. V, 142. Reference to his fables.
- Delaney, D. V, 121. Reference to him.
- Donne, Dr. III, xvii. Reference to him.
- Dorset, Earl of. II, ix. Reference to *Knotting in Works of the Earls of Rochester, Roscommon, Dorset*, etc. (London, 1721), II, 53-54, the source of *Daphnis*.
 III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
 III, xi. Reference to him.
- Dryden. II, ix. Reference to his *Fables*, 185-92, as source of *Philemon and Baucis*.
 III, xi, footnote 19. Reference to him.
 III, xxix. Reference to his odes.
 V, 142. Reference to his fables.
- D'Ursey. III, x. Reference to him.
- Eheselden, Wm. I, 123. Carpsen is called the "Eheselden der Deutschen."
 V, 119. Reference to "Deutschen Eheselden."
- Fenton. II, ix. Reference to *Miscellaneous Poems*, ed. by Lintat (1722), II, 124, *Freeman and Wild*, *Two Hot Young Gallants*, etc.

- Fielding. V, 167. Bodmer thanks Hagedorn for sending him the *Life of Joseph Andrews*.
- Fitzosborne, Sir Thomas. I, 61, footnote 6. Reference to his *Letters on Several Subjects* (London, 1748), Letter 19.
I, 75, footnote 31. *Ibid.*, Letter 15.
- Forrester. I, 116, footnote 47. Reference to his *Polite Philosopher* (Edinburgh, 1734).
- Gay. II, vi. Cites his *Fables* (1733), No. 50, pp. 190-94, source of *Der Hase und viele Freunde*.
II, viii. Cites *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1731), II, 55, as one of the sources of *Aurelius und Beelzebub*.
III, ix. Reference to him as song-writer.
V, 142. Reference to his *Fables*.
- Gildon. V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.
- Glover. V, 85. Compares Triller, author of a mock heroic, to Glover.
- Gordon. I, 48, footnote 26. Reference to *Discourses upon Tacitus*, Disc. IV, I, 81-100.
I, 64, footnote 10. *Ibid.*, III, 55-56, 105.
I, 65, footnote 12. *Ibid.*, III, 71.
- Gould, W. I, 60, footnote 5. Reference to his *Account of English Ants* (London, 1747), p. 59.
- Hobbes. II, 212. Dedicates poem to him.
- Hume. I, 61, footnote 6. Reference to his *Essays Moral and Political* (London, 1748), XIV, 119-26.
V, 211. Bodmer thanks Hagedorn for sending him Hume's *Essays*.
- Hutcheson. I, 76, footnote 25 (ed. Hamburg, 1757). Reference to *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections* (London, 1742), pp. 258 ff.
- Jonson, Ben. III, xi. Reference to him.
- Johnson, Samuel. V, 98. Reference to his *Dictionary*.
V, 145. Reference to his "Incomparable Rambler."
- Lauder. V, 145. Reference to his opposition to *Paradise Lost*.
- L'Estrange, Sir Roger. II, v. Cites his *Fables* (London, 1694), No. 86, as one of the sources of *Das Delphische Orakel und der Gottlose*.
II, vi. Cites *ibid.*, No. 69, as source of *Der Fuchs ohne Schwanz*.
II, vii. Cites *ibid.*, No. 89, pp. 176, 177, as source of *Die Bärenhaut*.
- Mallet. I, 135, footnote. Reference to his *Poem of Verbal Criticism* (London, 1743).
III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.

Mallet—*continued*

V, 97. Reference to his excellent poem, *Amyntor and Theodora*, his *Poems on Several Occasions*, in which he calls attention to the *Poem of Verbal Criticism*, which pleases him, and the *Excursion*, which he said was regarded in England as a masterpiece.

V, 142. Reference to his fables.

V, 207. Bodmer thanks Hagedorn for *Amyntor*, *Verbal Criticism* and *Excursion*.

Mandeville. V, 142. Reference to his fables.

Mead, Richard. I, 129, footnote. Reference to his *Mechanical Account of Poisons*.

Middleton. I, 45, footnote 18. Reference to his *History of the Life of Cicero*, I, 85, 94, 98, 104.

Milton. V, 105 ff. Reference to him.

V, 109. Reference to him.

V, 112. Reference to him.

V, 113. Reference to him.

V, 114 ff. Reference to him.

V, 145. Reference to him.

Newton. I, 23 (ed. 1757). Reference to him.

V, 146. Reference to him.

Oldham, John. II, vi. Cites *The Works of Mr. John Oldham*, II, 128, as one of the sources of *Der Wolf und der Hund*.

Orrery, Lord. I, 61, footnote 6. Reference to 15th letter of Lord Orrery to his son, Hamilton Boyle, in the *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (London, 1752), p. 184.

V, 120. Reference to him.

Parnell. V, 193. Bodmer refers to him as son of Homer.

Pemberton. V, 167. Bodmer thanks Hagedorn for sending him *Observations on Epic Poetry*.

Phillips, Ambrosius. III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.

V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.

Pope. I, xix, footnote. Reference to him.

I, xx, footnote. Reference to him.

I, xxx. Quotes from *Essay on Criticism*, l. 584.

I, xxxi. Quotes from *Essay on Criticism*, ll. 152-57.

I, xxxii, footnote 3. Quotes from *Observations on Homer*, p. 2.

I, xxxiii. Quotes from him. Reference to Pope's note to the 399th line of the 17th book of the *Odyssey* and to Pope's 10th letter to Cromwell.

I, 135, footnote. Reference to *Imitations of Horace*, p. 430, 451.

Pope—continued

- I, 142, footnote 3. Quotes from *Essay on Modern Education* in Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies* (London, 1736), III, 182.
- I, 175, footnote. Quotes from *Dunciad*, II, 33, 34.
- II, viii. Cites *The Miscellanies* by Pope and Swift, Vol. III, as the source of *Ja und Nein*.
- II, 118, footnote. Quotes from *Eloise to Abelard*.
- II, 135, footnote 2. Reference to his translation of the *Odyssey*.
- III, xii. Reference to Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies*, V, 120.
- III, xxix. Reference to *St. Cecilia*.
- V, 16. Reference to German translation of *Essay on Man*.
- V, 18. Quotes from Pope.
- V, 60, footnote. Reference to Latin translation of *Essay on Man*.
- V, 98 ff. Reference to *Dunciad*.
- V, 110. Reference to rules of sound in 6th letter to Walsh.
- V, 115 ff. Reference to Hagedorn's translation of *Universal Prayer*.
- V, 122. Reference to Italian translation of *Essay on Man*.
- V, 141, footnote. Reference to *Rape of the Lock*.
- V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.
- Prior. I, 136, footnote. Quotes epigram from him.
- I, 138. Reference to an epigram of his as one of the sources of *Susanna*.
- II, ix. Cites his *Poems*, I, 97, as source of *Liebe und Gegenliebe*.
- II, x. Cites his *Poems*, I, 109–15, as source of *Paulus Purganti und Agnese*.
- II, 95, footnote 1. Quotes from *Hans Carvel*, one of the sources of *Aurelius und Beelzebub*.
- II, 140, footnote 5. Quotes from his *Ladle*, one of the sources of *Philemon und Baucis*.
- II, 148, footnote. Quotes from his *Paulo Purganti and His Wife*, one of the sources of *Paulus Purganti und Agnese*.
- III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
- V, 142. Reference to his fables.
- V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.
- Ramsay, Allen. II, v. Cites *Fable of the Lost Calf* in Ramsay's *Poems* (Edinburgh, 1723), pp. 275, 276, as one of the sources of *Das Gelübde*.
- III, ix. Reference to him.
- Richardson. V, 110 ff. Criticism of *Clarissa* and reference to *Pamela*.
- Rochester, Earl of. IV, 49. Cites *A Very Heroical Epistle in Answer to Ephelia* as source of *An Ephelien*.
- V, 102. Reference to him.
- Roscommon, Earl of. III, xviii. Quotes from his translation of Horace.

- Sedley, Sir Charles. III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
- Seldon. I, 65, footnote 12. Reference to him.
- Shaftesbury. I, 72, footnote 24. Reference to *Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour in Characteristicks*, I, 98 ff.
V, 97. Reference to him.
- Shakespeare. I, xx, footnote. Reference to him.
I, 26, footnote 11. Quotes from *King Henry VI*, Part III, Act II, sc. 3.
I, 76, footnote 33. Quotes from a speech of Iago's in *Othello*.
I, 123, footnote. Reference to *King Richard III*, Act I, sc. 1.
V, 99. Reference to German translation of *Julius Caesar*.
- Sidney, Philip. III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
- Spence. I, 117, footnote 37 (ed. 1757). Reference to *Polymetis: or an Inquiry Concerning the Agreement between the Works of the Roman Poets and the Remains of the Antient Artists*, etc. (London, 1747), p. 21.
I, 135, footnote. Reference to him.
- Spenser. V, 197. Bodmer refers to the *Faerie Queene*.
- Stanley. I, 25, footnote 10. Reference to *History of Philosophy*, Part III, chap. v, p. 72.
- Steele. III, xi. Reference to the *Lover*, No. 40.
III, 196, footnote 3. Reference to the *Spectator*, No. 196.
V, 133 ff. Hagedorn writes Ebert, asking him to translate *The Conscious Lovers*.
- Swift. I, 25, footnote 10. Quotes from the *Voyage to the Houyhnhnms* in *Gulliver's Travels*, chap. viii, p. 215.
I, 142, footnote 3. Quotes from *Essay on Modern Education* in Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies* (London, 1736), III, 182.
II, viii. Cites Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies*, Vol. III, the source of *Ja und Nein*.
II, ix. Cites *Baucis and Philemon* as one of the sources of *Philemon und Baucis*.
II, ix. Cites Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies*, 1731. III, 132-40, as one of the sources of *Philemon und Baucis*.
II, 27, footnote. Reference to *Gulliver's Travels* and quotation from Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies*, III, 311.
II, 141, footnote 6. Quotes from Swift.
III, xii. Reference to Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies*, V, 120.
V, 99. Calls Liscov "Deutschland's Swift."
V, 101. Reference to him.
V, 120. Reference to him.
V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.
- Taylor, Lord. V, 63. Reference to him.

Temple, Wm. I, 64, footnote 9. Reference to *Memoirs* (1672-79), p. 245.

Thomson. V, 172. Bodmer refers to Thomson's *Liberty*.

V, 259. Ebert writes to Hagedorn (Leipzig, January 15, 1748) that he has recently studied the divine Thomson thoroughly and he can scarcely forgive Brockes for translating him. He sighs for Thomson's poem, *Liberty*, and cannot rest until he can find and admire Thomson in Hagedorn's company.

V, 262. Ebert writes to Hagedorn, Leipzig, January 15, 1748: "Mich ärgert's, dass ich den Thomson nicht mit habe verschreiben lassen. Bei solcher Gelegenheit empfinde ichs erst nicht, dass ich nicht reich bin. Was für eine herrliche Sammlung von schönen Büchern wollte ich haben! Sie sollte der Ihrigen nicht weichen; denn ich würde mir die Ihrigen zum Muster nehmen."

V, 266. Ebert writes Hagedorn, Leipzig, April 8, 1748: "Es dauert mich nur, dass ich ihn (Giseke) nicht im Englischen habe weiter bringen können, ihn, der so würdig ist, Pope und Thomson zu lesen."

Tickell. III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.

Turnbull. V, 97. Reference to his edition of Shaftesbury's works.

Waller. III, ix. Reference to him as a song writer.

III, xvii. Reference to him.

Wesley, Samuel. V, 197. Bodmer acknowledges receipt from Hagedorn of Samuel Wesley's *Poems*.

Winchilsea, Lady. II, v. Cites *Ardelia* from *Miscellany Poems* (London, 1713), pp. 73-83, as one of the sources of *Das geraubte Schäfchen*.

II, vi. Cites *Miscellany Poems*, p. 254, as one of the sources of *Der Löwe und die Mücke*.

II, vii. Cites *Miscellany Poems*, pp. 212, as one of the sources of *Der Adler, die Sau und die Katze*.

Wollaston. I, 72, footnote 25. Reference to *Religion of Nature*, §§ 3-6.

Young. I, xxviii. Quotes from his *Love of Fame*, Sat. I.

V, 146. Reference to Ebert's translation of *Night Thoughts*.

COLLECTIONS, ETC.

II, viii. Reference to *Common Sense, or, the Englishman's Journal*, of the year 1737, Nos. 34, 35, as one of the sources of *Apollo und Minerva*.

III, 129, footnote 1. Reference to *Common Sense*, etc., III, 280-81.

III, xxiii. Reference to the English collections, *The Vocal Miscellany*, *Calliope*, *The Choice*, *The Syren*, *The Lark*, etc.

PROVERBS, ETC.

- V, 63. Quotes, "Never a faint heart won a fair lady."
 V, 96. Quotes, "That each good author is as good a friend."
 V, 105. Quotes, "What authors lose, their booksellers have won;
 So pimps grow rich, while gallants are undone."
 V, 121. Quotes, "The greatest monarch may be stabbed by night,
 And fortune help the murderer in his flight," etc.
 V, 141. Quotes, "One moral, or a mere well-natur'd deed,
 Can all desert in sciences exceed."

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